1: Junod M-5 (1895-1909)1927 Thonga

588 bush. If she agrees to become his wife in this irregular manner,
583 she goes there and meets him. They have relations together and run to one of the relatives of the girl's mother. The family of the mother will be more lenient than the family of the father, having no right to the lobolo. The transgressors of the law will probably choose the village of the maternal uncle and settle there. The parents look everywhere for their daughter and try to get her to return home. If she is quite determined to remain with her ravisher, they let her go free, deploring their misfortune and their shame. But it is rare in the primitive state of the tribe for such a marriage not to be regularised. The thief, if he has retained any feeling of decency, will try to collect the lobolo. One morning he goes to the village of his wife's parents, and deposits a sovereign or a goat or a cock on the threshold of the hut of the girl's mother; or he hangs a half-sovereign on the goat's neck, rubs its lips with salt to prevent it from bleating, and then shouts loudly: "We have stolen, we of such and such a clan"... People wake from their sleep, not knowing what animal has made such a noise, come out of their huts and see the culprit standing outside the fence. When he has been duly recognised, he runs away. He will perhaps bring some other presents till he has definitely
588 "lobola" his wife. This is called the *nshonshonela*. Should he
611 not succeed in bringing the regular payment, the first girl born
597 of that marriage will be the lobolo. "Nwana a ta lobola mamana wa kwe": the child will pay for her mother. In law, all the children of such a union belong to the girl's family: a man who has not lobola has no right of property in his children. (See Part III.)

Should the woman who has been stolen by *tlhuba* go at once to live with her irregular husband in his village, her parents will arrange matters in another way. They will "go as enemies" (hi bulala), make a regular descent on the village of the thief, kill a pig, threaten to take all the furniture. The men of that village will then intercede and, in the course of time, the lobolo will be paid. (See App. VIII.)

561 a rite of passage and this is also proved by the fact that the money or the
431 bouillets given to the persons concerned do not remain their property.
As regards the circumcised, they remit them to the chief, and the chief
distributes them to the old women who are no longer able to bear
children. The girl who has passed through the khomba gives them to
her adopted mother, who will use them in the same way. All the
money remitted to the bride will go to the master of the village, for the
old women and the children. *Married people must have no share in it*,
as these presents are taboo. Why ? Because they are connected with
a passage, and people who have sexual relations are considered as
increasing the dangers connected with these critical phases of human
development, when the heart is troubled by a half-conscious fear of a new
and unknown future. Amongst civilised people who have reached the era
of individualism, these fears find their expression in songs and poetry.
In the communistic society they express themselves by means of rites.

* * *

571 Here are some answers to the questions of Professor Frazer on
584 marriage.
611 A man always brings his wife to his own home. This is the *tlhoma*,
and it is a law. It is taboo for him to go and live with his parents-
in- law, at any rate when he marries his first wife. In the course of
time, when the children have grown up, when the *bukoñwana*, viz. the
relations with parents-in-law, are of old standing, a man can go and live
in his wife's village (See Part II). Another case in which this can be
done is when a widow refuses to marry the man who legally inherits her,
and gives herself to a stranger, a man of Inhambane, for instance. He does
not pay the lobolo, and lives with her in her village ; but the children
born of that union will belong to the family of the deceased husband.
585 There is no preparation for marriage amongst the Thongas by
fasting, bleeding or keeping awake the night before. No corn or rice
is thrown at the bridal pair. The bride or bridegroom is never repre-
sented at the marriage by a proxy or dummy. Conjugal relations begin
immediately after marriage (see page 113), but the wife does not
possess her home and her kitchen for the first year ; during that
period she must cook for her mother-in-law.
583 There are no occasions on which men exchange their wives.
See practical conclusions on Marriage Rites at the end of Vol. I.

783 village itself, which must carry out the collective purification of *klamba ndjaka*.

768 I must further mention a new custom which is spreading amongst the Ba-Ronga in the neighbourhood of Lourenço 587 Marques. When a widow objects to becoming the wife of the legal 609 inheritor, she goes home and adopts another husband. There 611 are plenty of men of other tribes, coming from Inhambane, Quelimane, Mozambique, who have no wife. They accept the proposal of the widow and go to live in her village. They are generally despised and called by the insulting name of *mugomo*, a Zulu word meaning an empty iron oil-tin. They are as hard and unfeeling as such a tin! If children are born, they belong to the family of the deceased husband, who paid the lobolo.

587 Sometimes also a widow chooses a nephew who is still a child. She gives him food as if she were his wife, but she lives with another man whom she loves. It even happens that she may choose a girl, the daughter of another wife of the deceased. (Annotatio 13.)

C. OLD AGE AND DEATH

888 An old woman, having in some sort gone out from the sexual 782 community, enjoys some privileges which are taboo for her sisters who are still capable of childbearing. She is allowed to put on the clothing of the widows ; contamination of death is not so dangerous for her. She can proceed to the purification of the village, in certain cases of epidemic, and of the weapons of the warriors in war time (Part III). After the sacrifice of the black ram for rain, old women and small girls alone are allowed to eat the flesh of the victim.

462 But old and decrepit women are despised. As long as they 888 can still till their land, they are treated with consideration, but when they have lost all their strength and must be fed by their children, they are looked upon as troublesome burdens. I must say that, as long as she still has an atom of vigour, a Thonga woman goes to her field and tills it. During all her life time

1[See pp. 518-519 in these categories or in 116—Analyst]

602 that these appellations are expressive of many different things, one of the main considerations dictating them being the right of a man to marry his wife's relatives, or to inherit the women belonging to his own family.

I. *Blood relationships.*

601 The general term to indicate this relationship is *bushaka* (from *shaka, mashaka*), relatives.

1) Relatives on the father's side.

(Bakweru : *ba*, those, *ku*, at, *eru* possessive pronoun of the first person plur. means those *with us*, in our home.)

Let us first consult Tobane, called Tobane II in the genealogy.
601 He calls Magugu his father, *tatana*. The relation implies
593 respect and even fear. The father, though he does not take much
611 trouble with his children, is nevertheless their instructor, the one who scolds and punishes. Absolute obedience is due to him on the part of his sons and daughters (App. V). So also in the case of the *father's brothers*, who are also called "batatana ba shirare :" the elder brother who is a "great father" to Tobane, and the younger
601 brother Nkale, "tatana lwe'ntjongo", a "little father." Their
611 wives, Matshini for instance, are mothers to him, though he can in certain cases marry them by inheritance. The cousins of the father are also fathers (Muhambi to Thakusa, for instance, Gen. B.), provided the father calls them brothers.

There is another term for father, *rara* in Djonga, *roro* in Ronga ; roro is only employed with the possessive pronoun in the three following forms : rorwa'nga, my father, rorwa'ku, your father, rorwa'bu, their father. The correlative of tatana is *ñwana*, son or daughter.

Tobane II calls Shitsimbo *kokwana*, grandfather, Tobane I kokwane wa tatana, grandfather of father, and Nkwangana kokwana wa kokwana, grandfather of grandfather. The expression

601 611 tatana wa kokwana, father of grandfather, is never employed. The great-grandfather and the great-great-grandfather are sometimes designated as follows: he who does not see his grandson when he has been sent by the women to bring him food; the boy eats it on the way and the old man does not notice it! (Page 132). These progenitors call Tobane *ntukulu*, grandson. He is the true ntukulu of Shitsimbo; to Tobane I, he is the *ntukulu wa shikandjatjolo*, "the one who sits on the knees;" to Nkwangwana, the *ntukulu wo shikandjamirombo*, a word which seems to mean "the one who sits on the toes." In Djonga there is one more of these curious expressions applied to batukulu, *ntukulu wa shinguhe*. "When he pronounces that name," says Gana, "my great-grandfather points near by; when he says *ntukulu wa shikandjatjolo*, he points further down." To understand this properly, we must imagine the following patriarchal scene: a very, very old man is sitting on the ground, holding his son (ñwana) in his arms, and with his grandson (ntukulu) on his thigh, his great-grandson (wa shikandjatjolo) on his knees and his great-great-grandson on his toes (!). The fact that these terms have become almost obsolete shows that the system of counting descent from the father is at any rate very old in our tribe. There must even have been a time when the ancestors in the paternal line were better known than now. The wives of these bakokwana are also bakokwana, in the same way as their husbands.

601 604 The father's sister is *rarana* (Ro.) *hahane* (Dj.). The two words are the same, as *r* often changes into *h* in Thonga phonetics; the prefix of the first class, *mu* or *n*, now dropped, may have caused this change. Rarana approaches very closely to rara, father. It is employed in this form when it means *my* aunt. When we wish to say your aunt, his aunt, rarana becomes rarakati wa ku, rarakati

601 888 (!) This is another interpretation of these terms as applied to the grandparents: *kokwana wa shinguhe*: he is poor, miserable! When an ox is killed in the village, they do not even send him his share; he is far away. *Kokwana wa shikandjatjolo*: he is almost blind. When he wants to see his great-grandson he calls him and tells him: "Sit down on my knees." *Kokwana wa shikandja-mirombo*: mirombo or mirjombo means the small ears of maakies used to prepare the beer of the offerings. This kokwana, the great-great-grandfather, is already almost like one of the ancestor-gods to whom sacrifices are made!

604 womb, the uterus ; this consists not only of that organ, but of the
585 whole belly, from the sternum to the hind legs ; the bride's mother eats the *mbata* and *khondjo*, viz. the extremity of the spine (Mboza).

585 On the day of hlomisa, when the bride is led to her husband's
431 village, her maternal relatives receive a special gift, a young cow called *mubya wa mana wa yena*, i. e. the skin in which her mother carried her on her shoulders when she was a baby. This cow will be sent to the family when the first and the third daughter marry. In the case of a second and fourth girl, the nyimba alone is sent.

585 In the *equipment of the bride*, the mother's relatives provide
604 her with a hoe, with fat to anoint her body, with a mat and clothing and sometimes with bracelets. The paternal aunt (hahana) does not give anything, neither does the paternal uncle, the latter only helping the father occasionally. Should the mother's relatives not fulfil this duty of providing part of the trousseau, next time they will not be given the *nyimba* to which they were entitled (Viguet).

583 But the most characteristic prerogative of the bamalume or
602 bakokwana, is *their special right of intercession* on behalf of the
604 uterine nephews. In fact, as Mankhelu said in his picturesque language, "as regards sacrifices (timhamba), the mother's relatives mostly perform them. They are the stem. My father is the stem as regards the oxen, but my mother is the true stem ; she is the god ; she makes me grow. Should she die when I am an infant, I shall not live. The village of my mother is as the home of the gods (ka mamana hi ko psikwembyen)." Simeon Gana added : "We have the special charge of sacrificing for our batukulu ; our sons also are priests to them, and can officiate in our place, even should they be younger than our batukulu. That is the reason why we do not marry them. We are their elders (bakulu)." Of course the bones will always be consulted and they will tell if a sacrifice must be offered to the gods of the mother or to those of the father, but a kokwane will preferably be called upon to sacrifice for a sick child. (See Part VI. Chap. II, II.)

604 In the ceremonies following death, especially in the feast of
611 the mourning beer (page 164), the malume will be the officiating person and squeeze the *psanyi* over his batukulu to cleanse them.

A last right possessed by the malume is that *of raising his village*

604 611 597 *(pfusha muti) by means of a ntukulu.* Should he see that he has no children, that his village is in danger of "dying," he will take his unmarried sister to his village and refuse to accept the lobolo for her. He will say to her : "Do not fear! If you die, I will bury you!" This duty falls in the first place to the husband; but the brother is ready to fulfil it. She will have lovers, and perhaps give birth to a son. As she has not been lobola, this child belongs to the mother's family, according to the great rule of Native law. The uncle will appropriate this male offspring of his family, who will bear the *shibongo* of his kokwana. A uterine nephew, adopted under these circumstances, can save the family of his mother from extinction.

2) Rights of the uterine nephew.

604 782 The attitude of the ntukulu wa shisati (the uterine nephew) to his malume is quite peculiar. "Ntukulu i hosi, a nyenyela hikwapsu ku malume." — "The uterine nephew is a chief! He takes any liberty he likes with his maternal uncle" (Mboza). These prerogatives of uterine nephews with regard to relatives on their mother's side, their bamalume and bakokwana, appear clearly in the religious ceremonies. We have seen the prominent part which batukulu take in these rites. "Ba yima mahlwen ka psikwembu" — "they stand before the gods, in their stead" (Viguet). They must be the servants of the altar, and the consumers of the offering. In the great sacrifice for rain, as accomplished in the Northern clans, an offering of beer is made, together with the sacrifice of the black victim. (See Part VI.) It is the uterine niece of the chief who must fetch the mealies from the granary, pour them into the pot, take the first handful to crush it in the mortar, give the first blow with the pestle, and begin each of the complicated acts of the brewing. When the black victim is brought, some one puts an assagay into her hand and helps her to stab the animal. She it is who "gives over to the gods" (nyiketa psikwembu). The same thing happens in the great family gatherings : one ntukulu holds the leg, another the

1: Junod M-5 (1895-1909)1927 Thonga

604 obsolete, but which asserts itself in virtue of the survival of an old
178 custom. I have often been struck by the unconscious way in
428 which they act on all these occasions! They give the impression of people who have been hypnotised and ordered to do something next day, when no longer in the mesmeric sleep. You see them carrying out the act, constrained by a mysterious necessity and without knowing why they do so. The hypnotising factor here is the weight of heredity, of all this hoary antiquity, which belongs indeed to the past, but still influences the subliminal life of the tribe...

643 As regards the chiefs, I may add that the uterine nephew may
604 be given the chieftainship over a certain part of the country. He is well received at the Court, better than the nephews on the brother's side, because, with these, there is always the risk that they may become usurpers. This also explains why a chief, when in danger, will ask help from his bakokwana rather than from the relatives of his own family. The latter may seize the opportunity for "bangana buhosi", i. e. to dispute the chieftainship with him.

611 Mother-right most probably existed amongst the ancestors of
178 the Thongas, whatever may be the country in which they then lived
602 and the name by which they were called. But everything seems to prove that this phase has long ago passed away. No one remembers anything of the kind. Genealogies, which are the oldest records of the tribe, mention only the ancestors of the father. They are recalled much better than those of the mother. The lobola custom, which is the strongest support of the paternal right at the present time, has been practised since time immemorial (1). See also the special names of the great-grand-fathers in the paternal line (p. 227).

000 (1) Lobola is however not incompatible with the uterine form of the family. I have been informed by the Rev. E. Allégret, working in the French Congo, that the Mpongwe and Galoa of the Lower Ogowe have still partly preserved the mother-right. But lobola exists. The first lobolo is payed indifferently to the father or the mother of the bride, and the choice is made according to the personal relations existing between the husband's family and the families of the bride's parents. When a second daughter marries, half the lobolo is given to the maternal uncle. The children stay in the father's village, but they are under the guidance of the mother and of her family. They belong to the mother's clan. This system evidently denotes a less advanced stage of evolution. However matriarchy is passing into patriarchy, and the lobola custom will probably hasten the process.

604 very highly respected, that he has the right of life and death over his nephews." The relation between a maternal uncle and his nephews is totally different in that Central African tribe from what it is amongst our South African tribes. There, at any rate, the pattern of behaviour inspired by the mother does not apply to her brother, and Mr. Brown's theory is at fault. On the matriarchy hypothesis, on the contrary, it is not impossible to explain this fact. There has been an evolution (whilst there has probably been no change in the feelings of a mother towards her child from the beginning of the human race up to the present day). If, in the course of this evolution, there was a time when the family system was matrilocal, a time when a child dwelt in its mother's village, close to its mother's brother, one can understand that the latter, at that time, took upon himself the duty of educating the child, of reproving him. His attitude, in such circumstances, was more severe, more dominating than now. As the Ba-Ila have preserved a kind of matriarchy, possessing, as they do, totemic clans in which matriarchal customs prevail, we ought not to be astonished if the relations of uncle and nephew are so different amongst them. In the South African tribes the authority has completely passed to the father. Hence the great respect shown to him by the children ; hence also the want of respect and the great ease in the relations with the maternal uncle.

603 611 At the end of this argument, may I allow a Native to give his opinion ? Natives often refuse if asked to explain these mysterious customs of theirs. Yet when we have the chance of hearing an intelligent Bantu formulate a reason for one of them, we are bound to consider such testimony as very valuable. Natives feel what we, Europeans, can only guess, and they have actual experience of the Bantu kraal life... Speaking on this very subject of the mode of behaviour of a Thonga toward his father's and mother's family my informant said : "If the paternal grandfather is less lenient with his grandson than the maternal grandfather, it is on account of property" (p. 232). The paternal grandfather and his grandson belong to the same clan, or sib, or family. They bear the same name (shibongo). They possess in common certain property, oxen, implements, etc, which all of them have the duty of preserving, increasing, defending. If a child spoils or destroys this property, he commits a wrong which is resented by all the other members of the clan. His paternal grandfather will reprove him. He will do so also if the honour, the good reputation of the clan is at stake. But the maternal grandfather has nothing to do with such matters. The spoiled property

603 611 does not belong to him, and, whatever the child may do in this respect, the ease and indulgence which characterises his relations with his nephew will not be altered. Thus whatever influence the natural feelings of tenderness of the mother towards her children may have had on the special mode of behaviour of the batukulu towards their bakokwana, they are not the only factor, nor perhaps the most important factor to be considered: Property plays a greater part in the determination of that kind of relationship in the present circumstances, and as regards its first origin, the matriarchy hypothesis goes a long way to explain its characteristics.

602 611 178 But let me frankly recognise that the matriarchy theory is but a hypothesis. As Mr. Brown rightly shows, there is not a tribe amongst the Bantus, as far as we know, where that family system exists in its integrity, i. e. matrilineal, matrilocal, matripotestal. Everywhere there seems to prevail a mixture of the two systems. However if there has been an evolution (and an evolution has certainly taken place) and if one system preceded the other, it must certainly have been matriarchy, as its traces, in the present patriarchal system, bear all the character of relics of a former period.

000 I have tried to look far back into the past of the Thonga family system. Now I would ask: What about its future ? The question must be asked, because we are not considering the South African tribe only as a subject of scientific study. We are deeply interested in its welfare and in its destiny. New forces have appeared which act in a new way on primitive society.

What will be, what must be the nature of the evolution ? How must it be directed by those who have a responsibility for the shaping of the future Bantu society ?

We shall answer this question in our Practical Conclusions, at the end of this Volume. For the present we shall be satisfied with a scientific collection of the facts in relation to the two great customs which lie at the base of the whole family system of the Bantus : Lobola and Polygamy.

1: Junod M-5 (1895-1909)1927 Thonga

583 835 (See page 109). Every male member of the group has his say in the matter.

593 618 2) Brothers will always be ready to help a poor relative to lobola : they work for their group.

3) The acquired wife is their presumptive spouse, though they cannot have sexual relations with her (matlulana). They will inherit her if the husband dies, according to the laws which I have explained in the preceding paragraphs.

583 593 611 618 4) Children will belong to the father, live with him, bear his shibongo (family name), and owe him obedience : boys will strengthen this group, girls will be lobota (factitive of lobola—sold in marriage) for his profit. Father-right rests on the lobola. This is so plain that any child born of a woman who has not been paid for belongs to the mother's family, bears her shibongo name and will live in the malume's village. In Appendix VII, I relate the story of Spoon Libombo as an instance of this primordial law. This is the reason why, when the question is discussed, men insist so much on the preservation of the lobola. They say : "Who will guarantee us the possession of our children if lobola is suppressed ?"

So the lobola is by no means a purchase made by the husband, and still less a present given to the wife's parents.

1) Advantages of the lobola custom.

583 593 586 In the primitive collective stage of society the custom has certainly *great advantages* : 1) It strengthens the family, I mean the patriarchal family, the right of the father. 2) It marks the difference between a legitimate and an illegitimate marriage and, in this sense, takes the place of an official marriage register. 3) It puts hindrances in the way of dissolving the matrimonial union, as a wife cannot definitely leave her husband without her group returning the lobola. Therefore it obliges the married pair to have a certain regard one for the other.

However, these advantages must not be exaggerated. Marriages

1: Junod M-5 (1895-1909)1927 Thonga

APPENDIX VI (See p. 265)

The story of Paulus K., illustrating the matlulana superstition and the Thonga horror of polyandry.

607 835 One of my pupils, who was already a married man of, perhaps, thirty-two years of age, once came to me, very much distressed, to confess a fault which seemed to weigh very heavy on his conscience. On a day of feasting he had drunk too freely and had commited adultery with the wife of his elder brother Guga. He fought with himself for years, not daring to avow an action which seemed to him not merely ordinary adultery but an incestuous act. He finally wrote to his brother: "Though I know that we shall not be able to love each other any more as before, though it pains me so much to separate from you, I will confess! Please forgive me, as I intended to commit suicide on account of my fault!"

The special gravity of the fault consisted in two circumstances: 1) She was his brother's wife and he was now unable to visit his brother when ill, to take part in his burial, or to maintain friendly relations with him. 2) Guga was his elder brother. This made the case still worse.

The letter of Paulus to his fellow evangelists is touching: "I have no right to stay in your assembly, because I have been overcome by the Enemy and committed adultery with my elder brother's wife. I have been long prevented (from confessing) by the Enemy's power. Now I have wept before Jesus that He may help me to pierce the abscess... Satan came and said to me: 'Will you not be ashamed to confess such a thing before men?' I nearly retreated. But at sunrise I made haste to write to you, and now I feel peace and joy. It seems to me that I am going to receive the Spirit of God."

APPENDIX VII (See p. 279)

611 597 604 *The story of Spoon Libombo, showing that, when the lobolo has not been paid or has been returned, the children belong to the mother's and not to the father's family.*

Spoon was the son of Shibaninge, a woman of the Libombo family, and of Khobete of the Mazwaya family, who had lobola Shibaninge.

611 597 604 This man died during a war with the Portuguese, having been killed on Mbengelen island. The widow was "fambeliwa" (chosen) by Nsiki, Khobete's brother, who was to inherit her. But Nsiki did not really care for the widow. He did not prepare a *ntehe* for the baby nor provide the mother with ochre. Seeing this, Shibaninge went back to her relatives. When the time for the weaning of the little one arrived, a man named Mbobobo had irregular relations with the woman in order to "lumula" the child (See page 60). Mbobobo went so far as to take her to his home, upon which Nsiki claimed the lobolo paid by the Mazwayas and the Libombos gave it back to them. After that, Spoon lived in his mother's family and was called : "wa ka Libombo," "man of Libombo." But he had no real home (a nga na kwakwe). Being on the spot he was always chosen to help in the sacrifices : drinking the beer which remained in the pot after the libations to the gods in the gandelo, near the gate, stealing the offerings when the victims were killed in the sacred bush, etc. He was the "great ntukulu," because his mother belonged to the elder branch or first house of the family. So he took precedence of the other uterine nephews when they had to take part in the sacrifices.

APPENDIX VIII (See p. 281)

The story of Gidhlana Ngwetsa of Rikatla; a typical case illustrating the lobola, divorce, and leper customs of the Ba-Ronga.

587 586 Gidhlana was the sister of a man named Mubene. Both were the children of a fine old Ronga named Ngwetsa and one of his wives. Gidhlana was bought with lobola by a man named Khandlela (candle), son of Ñwamanghele, a man of the Manyisa clan settled near Rikatla. The marriage took place probably in 1893. The new pair did not live in peace. Gidhlana quarrelled with her husband. "Why ? Nobody knows! Are the affairs of the huts and the villages known to outsiders ?" She returned home to her father Ngwetsa. The husband waited a while. Then he followed her (landjela) and asked her to come back to the conjugal home. Her parents told her to obey. She went. But quarrelling soon recommenced. She fled a second time ; her husband and her parents-in-law did their best to induce her to go back. She refused. An uncle of hers took a stick and thrashed her but nothing could persuade her.